

1 OVERVIEW

- We argue for a prosodic constraint on ellipsis:

P-WORD INTEGRITY

Ellipsis cannot delete sub-parts of phonological words.

- Consequence for architecture:** Prosodification (including word-formation) precedes ellipsis.
- Provides support for **PF-deletion** theories of (at least certain) ellipses.

2 SOME DATA

- Unstressed object pronouns cannot be stranded by deletion ('gapping') of the verb, (1b).
 - To survive ellipsis, the object must be contrastively stressed, (1c).
- (1) a. I called Sheryl on Monday, and called **her** on Tuesday again.
 b. *I called Sheryl on Monday, and ~~called her~~ on Tuesday again.
 c. I called Sheryl₍₁₎ on Monday, and ~~called Mary/HER₍₂₎/HIM~~ on Tuesday.
- Not a requirement that all remnants of gapping be contrasted, cf. *drunk* in (2).
- (2) I saw Lahey drunk on Monday, and ~~saw~~ Randy drunk on Tuesday.

3 BACKGROUND ON P-WORDS

- P(honological) Word:** the smallest stress-bearing unit (above the Foot, below the Phonological Phrase on the Prosodic Hierarchy).
 - Function words do not typically map to P-WORDS (don't receive stress).
 - Ito and Mester (2009): they are bare syllables, which prosodically cliticize onto adjacent material.
 - Diagnosed by **vowel reduction** (and sometimes consonant deletion).
- (3) called [-im] / [ət-] home / [ðə-] doctor / [tə-] Mary.
- Tyler (2019): function words can subcategorize for the direction in which they cliticize.
 - Object pronouns cliticize to the **left**, (most) auxiliaries, determiners, and prepositions cliticize to the **right**.
 - If no appropriate host (or there is focus), the unreduced form is used.

4 ANALYSIS

- P-WORD INTEGRITY explains the data in (1) (*n.b.* we are assuming that **gapping involves deletion**).
- The verb and the object pronoun form a single P-WORD, which cannot be broken up.
 - Focused pronouns and full noun phrases are strandable (1c), because they map to independent P-WORDS.

5 ORDER OF OPERATIONS

- Syntax can bleed cliticization, resulting in an unreduced form (even without focus).
- (4) [him/*im] leaving was surprising (c.f. I saw[-im] leaving).
- Why can't ellipsis do the same? Our answer:

ORDER OF OPERATIONS

Syntactic operations >> P-WORD formation >> Ellipsis

- Supports the PF-deletion theory of ellipsis: why would LF copying be sensitive to prosodic structure?

6 FURTHER PREDICTIONS

- Have* cliticizes to the left. In (5), *should* and *have* thus constitute a P-WORD, and are predicted by P-WORD INTEGRITY not to be separable by ellipsis:
- (5) *Cassandra should have left yesterday, and Hector should ~~have left~~ two days ago.
- Possessor pronouns cliticize to the right (Selkirk 2011). Ellipsis then shouldn't be able to delete material to the right of possessors, (6b). Contrastively focused possessor pronouns (and full NPs) are possible (6c)—they map to P-WORDS by themselves.
- (6) a. I borrowed Maria's book about Russia, and her book about Crete too.
 b. *I borrowed Maria's book about Russia, and her(s) ~~book~~ about Crete too.
 c. I borrowed HER₍₁₎ book about Russia and Patrick's/HERS₍₂₎ ~~book~~ about Crete.
- It is likewise impossible to delete just the possessor, again as predicted:
- (7) *I borrowed Maria's book about Russia and ~~her~~ book about Crete too.
- 'Portmanteau' function complexes (*gonna* 'going to', *hafta* 'have to' and others) cliticize rightward, and they too cannot be stranded, (8a).
 - Not a general restriction against contraction in this position: *have*, which cliticizes leftward, can appear here, (8b).
- (8) a. *Reginald was gonna leave, and Mary was gonna as well.
 b. Reginald was going to've left, and Mary was going to've as well.

7 OTHER LANGUAGES

- Japanese particle-stranding ellipsis: can strand topic markers, case markers, auxiliaries, and more.
 - Stranded particles must be focused (Sato & Maeda 2019).
- St'át'imcets VP ellipsis: only 'heavy' auxiliaries can be stranded.
 - Auxiliaries that do not map to P-WORDS must undergo 'rhetorical' lengthening to serve as an ellipsis remnant (Davis 2004).